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TAGS: [EAID](#) [UNSC](#) [PHUM](#) [KS](#) [CH](#) [RS](#) [JA](#)
SUBJECT: U.S.-JAPAN-ROK POLICY PLANNING TRILATERAL, SESSION
6: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY AND
GOOD GOVERNANCE

REF: A. TOKYO 2663

- [1](#)B. TOKYO 2664
- [1](#)C. TOKYO 2665 (NOTAL)
- [1](#)D. TOKYO 2654
- [1](#)E. TOKYO 6666

Classified By: Charge d'Affaires, a.i., Joe Donovan for Reasons 1.4(b,d
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[1](#)1. (C) Summary: During the May 12 U.S.-Japan-ROK Policy Planning discussion, South Korea DFM Park In-Kook expressed concern over the conditionalities the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) places on recipient governments. Japan DVFM Masaharu Kohno observed that elections were key to the development of liberal democratic institutions and suggested that U.S. leadership is essential. Japanese Embassy Political Minister Nobukatsu Kanehara offered that the development of a strong middle class is also a key element. On UNSC reform, the ROK was interested in U.S. views on the HRC and U.N. interventions post-Annan, while Japan's interests were mainly on reform of the Security Council. End Summary.

[1](#)2. (C) During the sixth and final session of the U.S.-Japan-ROK Policy Planning Trilateral meeting on May 12, S/P Director Stephen D. Krasner, Japan's Deputy Vice Foreign Minister Masaharu Kohno and Korean Deputy Minister for Policy Planning and International Organizations Park In-Kook discussed "International Institutions, Promotion of Democracy and Good Governance, and UN Reform." In response to Krasner's opening remarks, DM Park expressed skepticism that the U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) is the most effective way to approach the problem of good governance. At issue, according to Park, are the "conditionalities" MCC places on recipient governments. It is not "noble" to link the "cause of democracy" explicitly to "money." The concept of "good governance" is difficult to understand. Further, the use of "conditionality" raises questions about interference in domestic affairs. The international community, he suggested, should look for a more "face-saving, subtle" ways to package and export good governance. For example, membership in the EU is voluntary, contingent upon demonstrating adherence to certain principles. "Voluntariness" is a better way to elicit good governance, Park stated. Krasner defended the MCC, which provides aid to countries that have shown what they have accomplished rather than what they have promised to do, based on criteria assessed by non-U.S. Government international groups. The lesson of international financial institutions - most notably the World Bank - is that dumping aid into countries with poor internal governance leads to waste. The conditionalities of the MCC, he continued, create an incentive for sustained

improvement.

¶3. (C) DVFM Kohno and Nobukatsu Kanehara, Political Minister in Japan's Embassy in Washington, agreed with Krasner's observation that free and fair elections and liberal institutions are key to the development of liberal democracy.

Commenting on Krasner's suggestion that elections serve as one mechanism of accountability, and that institutions such as an independent judiciary are necessary to defend the citizenry's basic rights from the encroachment of the state, Kohno observed that the development of a social security net and subsequent development of a strong middle class are essential to the development of democracies. In both Thailand and the Philippines, for example, the growth in the middle class over the last two decades is partly the reason for widespread public support for democracy, as seen through the election of its current leaders, according to Kohno. In the Middle East, pending the development of a strong economic middle class, one needs to create a social security net. Without a strong middle class, democracies could never grow and take root.

¶4. (C) There is a strong link between development and democracy, Kanehara continued. Those countries that succeed in opening up also succeed in democracy. Opening up, in Kanehara's view, will require "leadership from the United States," as was demonstrated under President Roosevelt's New Deal, in order to show a "vision for what the world can be like in 100 years" if we embrace democracy and democratic institutions. If not, we risk the emergence of more "traditional" leaders or groups like Hezbollah leading "anti-U.S., anti-modernity" movements. Krasner responded that the international community needs to work together to structure a set of voluntary agreements that can support liberal institutions even in countries without high levels of development or money. Krasner closed on an optimistic note,

emphasizing that within the next few generations, we could be witness to a world of democratic states.

¶5. (C) Turning to U.N. reform, Park asked for Krasner's "initial observations" of the Human Rights Council, alluding to United States opposition to the formation of that entity. Krasner offered that the United States is "hopeful" that the new structure will work effectively despite not having accepted any conditions for membership such as excluding countries that had been sanctioned by the UNSC. The United States will continue to observe how the HRC develops, he added. Kanehara briefly mentioned the important role democratic countries could play on the Security Council in countering the Russia-China "alliance," which sometimes competes with our interests and values as democratic nations.

Krasner reiterated U.S. Government support for a Japanese permanent seat on the UN Security Council, noting that our main challenge now is figuring out a mutually acceptable path toward achieving that outcome. The ROK also supports UNSC reform, said Park (without commenting on Japan's bid for a permanent UNSC seat). Park asked for Krasner's view on support for UN intervention following Secretary General Annan's reference to ideas like the responsibility to protect. Krasner cautioned that UN actions such as in Darfur must be coupled with an understanding that countries must put its soldiers at risk, something most have been unwilling to do. In Darfur, for instance, the United States would happily accept more support from willing countries.

¶6. (U) Participants in the meeting included:

United States

Stephen D. Krasner, Director, Policy Planning Staff
Evan Feigenbaum, S/P Member Member
Ann Kambara, Labor Counsellor, Embassy Tokyo
Marc Shaw, Political Officer, Embassy Tokyo (notetaker)
David Wolff, Political Officer, Embassy Tokyo

Japan

Masaharu Kohno, MOFA Vice-Minister for Foreign Policy
Yoshihisa Endo, Deputy Director General, Foreign Policy Bureau
Nobukatsu Kanehara, Minister, Embassy of Japan (Washington)
Koji Tomita, Minister, Embassy of Japan (Korea)
Hiroshi Kawamura, MOFA Director, Policy Planning Division
Shinobu Yamaguchi, MOFA Policy Planning Division

ROK

In-Kook Park, Deputy Minister for Policy Planning and
International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
(MOFAT)
Sang-Mo Yeon, Minister Counselor, ROK Embassy (Tokyo)
Choong-Hee Hahn, Director, North America Division I, MOFAT
Song Oh, Director, Policy Planning and Coordination Division,
MOFAT
Ki-Woong Kim, Director, Inter-Korean Policy Division
Ki-Jun Park, Deputy Director for North-East Asia Division II,
MOFAT
Young-Kyu Park, Deputy Director for Policy Planning and
Coordination Division, MOFAT

(U) S/P Director Krasner cleared this message.
DONOVAN